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elections require no previous elections to determine candidates, for they may "qualify by merely filing nomination papers." Even if this should result in the election of minority candidates the author hesitates to recommend preferential voting. The initiative and recall are condemned, as is also the referendum, except for deciding certain questions of finance, municipal ownership, and so on.

Throughout the work runs a current of distrust of the tendency to imitate foreign institutions. So far as this attitude does not result in sheer provincialism it may be commended; it is at least a welcome relief from the chorus of adulation which American observers of foreign municipal institutions have been raising.

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Progressive Democracy. By HERBERT CROLY. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914.—438 pp.

In this volume the author of *The Promise of American Life* has contributed another thoughtful study of the American political system. Mr. Croly has the unusual advantage of being a student-spectator of the phenomena which he describes; and for this reason his work is characterized by fairness, poise, keenness of observation and sympathy with progressive ideas.

In the author's view, the great problem of the present is to find some way of altering the political physiognomy of the American people, who, weary and heavy-laden with the legalism of the eighteenth century, are seeking to break the "power of the word," as he calls the federal constitution. Mr. Croly has no quarrel with the past. He warmly admires the "monarchy of the Constitution" for having instructed the American people during their "collective childhood" and for having established a government which was at once authoritative, national and educational. But he becomes impatient with the present upholders of the past who, for selfish reasons, wish to perpetuate an alliance between "an overgrown business system with a superannuated political system."

Since the Civil War, a great deal of uneasiness began to manifest itself among large sections of the American people because of the growing influence of corporate capital on the political life of the nation. Radicalism was at first sporadic and morally indignant at this or that "abuse" which it wished to abolish in order to restore the pristine purity of the Fathers. It finally began to dawn on the minds of the more thoughtful that perhaps all was not well with the political structure established by the Constitution, so long praised as the mirror of polit-

ical perfection; and this "pervasive progressivism, which began by being dangerously indignant, ended by being far more dangerously inquisitive." The fundamental principles of the American political system—checks and balances, judicial supremacy and *laissez faire*—which had been accepted unquestioningly by all classes of the people, were suddenly subjected to a most searching and destructive criticism. And the end is not yet in sight.

Mr. Croly is a believer in direct government as a form of escape from the network of constitutional checks and traditional legalism. In his view, direct government, which was once impossible in large communities, has now become feasible owing to the multiplication of agencies to organize and instruct public opinion, like the public schools, popular newspapers, public forums and reform organizations. A timely chapter for New Yorkers is the one on the "Visions of a New State," wherein the author advocates the idea that the governor should be the corner stone of the new state; political responsibility is to be concentrated in his hands, for he has become primarily a law giver, not merely an administrator.

On the social side of American politics Mr. Croly has unfortunately little to say, but that little is very suggestive and interesting. His explanation of the evolution of the Republican party is one of the best things in the volume. In the author's opinion, the Republican party was the first American political organization that had a conception of the social functions of the state. It developed the idea of "economic nationalism" by using the power of the state, not only to protect property but to aid in its acquisition. For this reason, the Republicans passed homestead acts for the farmers, gave grants of land to the railroads and established a protective tariff for American industry. In practice, they revolutionized the American political system although the Constitution remained intact. Unfortunately the special interests got control of the party, and its original ideal of human welfare was lost in the service of corporate wealth. The Progressive party with its emphasis on "social justice" is therefore the legitimate child of the Republican party. The author believes that the organization of an uncompromising Progressive party became necessary because the old parties took up reforms only to neutralize them; and in Mr. Croly's opinion the new party "has done more to make the progressive idea count at its proper value in American public opinion . . . than has any other agency of progressive expression."

The author is greatly exercised over the philosophy of the Democratic party which he considers hopelessly eighteenth-century. He especially

singles out for criticism the individualistic views expressed by President Wilson in his book on *The New Freedom*. Mr. Croly forgets that American statesmen have developed an extraordinary capacity for keeping their philosophy and their practice in two idea-tight compartments. Mr. Wilson's philosophy has not prevented him from going serenely along the path of "economic nationalism." The recent Trades Commission law, passed through his influence, together with the authority vested in Interstate Commerce Commission will in time subject all economic activities of the American people to public control. Both as governor and as president, Mr. Wilson has been an advocate of social legislation; and he is now reported to favor the nationalization of the telegraphs.

Mr. Croly has been a pioneer in the reconstruction of American political opinion. His books show originality as well as keen analysis. No man is better fitted to write the history of the Progressive party, and we sincerely hope that he will undertake the work.

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Applied History. Edited by BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH. State Historical Society, Iowa City, 1912. Volume I, xix, 638 pp.

A group of scholars associated with Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh have set about applying the critical historical method to the study of the leading problems of Iowa politics, in the hope that they may use history "in working out a rational program of human progress in government and administration." The first fruits of their labors are now before us. Professor Shambaugh contributes a spirited introduction, justifying the use of history for practical purposes; and four collaborators present papers bearing specifically upon Iowa questions of public policy. Professor John E. Brindley of the Iowa State College writes on road legislation and tax administration; Professor E. H. Downey of the University of Wisconsin treats of the regulation of urban utilities and workmen's compensation; Professor Frank E. Horack of the Iowa State University deals with primary legislation; and Professor Henry J. Peterson of the Iowa Teachers' College covers the field of corrupt practices legislation.

Although all of the papers are included under the general head of "history," some of them are almost purely descriptive, for example, the essays on urban utilities and workmen's compensation; while others, such as the studies of tax administration, road legislation, and corrupt practices, rest upon broad historical foundations. Two or three of the